361 621 721 The Ming dynasty was strongest in the first century and a half of its rule. After that, from 1509 to the founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644, and from then until 1723, recurrent forays and revolts never left the country at peace. At one time, a Chinese army of a hundred thousand men had to be sent to garrison this frontier region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 13*b*). In 1537 orders were given to build more mud walled villages, and in 1595 orders came again to repair the old fortifications and to build more new fortified villages (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, pp. 15*a*, 19*a*). It is worth noting that Liench'eng, the seat of the Lu clan, means "associated cities," since in the region of Liench'eng thirteen strongholds were built by the T'u-ssu, most of them still extant.

[712] These notices in the *Annals* suggest that few fortified villages had previously existed, but that from this time the population began to group itself around small strongholds, the more important of which grew into fortified villages.

618 701 361 621 The Monguor clan was a military institution, originally shaped on the Mongol nomadic pattern, with a decimal system of groups of 10, 100, and 1,000 families and a hierarchy of military command from the largest unit of 10,000 down to the smallest of 10. When the Monguors became farmers, the process of settling broke up these units, with the result that families that had once belonged to the same military unit were scattered among different farming groups. It then became necessary to make a new military grouping based on the distribution of villages. This led to a system of villages in which the head of the village was also the military chief, and in which the military interest of defense was coordinated with such community interests as the maintenance of irrigation canals. The transformation of villages in which some families were subject to mobilization under military units in other villages into a system in which the military unit coincided with the residential community seems to have been brought about not by planning but by a natural adjustment.

361 A Monguor village may be described as "loose," in contrast with the Chinese "compact" village. It is not a large place included between four strong, thick mud walls, with a small gate easy to defend, but a defined territory in which the people live on their farms, scattered in small groups, under the rule of the chief of the [311] territory. Each "village" has a share of pasture for the herds of the whole community and a valley for the cutting of wood and fuel by all members of the community.

It sometimes has a central stronghold in which live some twenty or thirty families. Sometimes, though not usually, the mansion of the T'u-ssu and the administrative buildings of the clan are also within the stronghold, together with a couple of shops, one of which is always the indispensable pharmacy with a Chinese "physician." Again in contrast with the Chinese pattern, there are rarely any "streets" laid out at right angles, for the

[P. 74a]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

is fighting must be fought, but always at the same time the tribes should be induced to surrender peacefully. The debates lasted for seven years and nothing was done (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 10*b*, 11*a*). Finally in 1530 the Tibetan tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou started plundering the country. The tribes had fled from Kokonor for fear of the Mongols. Their destitution was tragic. Commander Liu Wen-yu, protagonist of the third group, left with his army, but at the same time sent officials to induce the tribes to surrender, promising them help. Among them only twenty-one tribes decided to revolt, the Lung-po (Uighur) tribe being the leader of the group. The commander defeated two tribes, killed 360 rebels and then started peace talks. He succeeded, receiving the surrender of seventy or more tribes. He returned with the army. The regions of T'ao and Ming Chou were at peace.

The same year, while the tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou, situated south of the Yellow River, were pacified, the Tsantsa tribes, living on the northern bank of the Tatung River, plundered the region of Nienpei, but were defeated in the T'u-ku-hung valley. Splinter groups of Mongols raided Chengfan, and small groups of Kokonor brigands invaded Hsining and were pursued.

In 1534, amidst all these troubles, the Ming dynasty was still interested in education and instruction. More schools were built in several small fortresses, and in Hsining the Hall of the Faithful and Meritorious officials was constructed. On the stele erected inside the hall, we read among the names of the celebrated personalities those of four Monguor t'u-ssu: Li Nan-ko, Li Yin, the Duke of Huei-ming, his son, T'u-ssu Ch'eng Chih, and T'u-ssu Li Ch'ang, son of Li Yin (*Annals* of Hsining 35: 9*b*, 10*a*).

The situation grew worse every day and all of Huangchung was upset. Liu T'ien-ho, vice-president of the ministry of war, was sent in 1536 to direct the military operations in Kansu and Shensi. The third son of Dayan, Barsa Bolot, with his son, the Jinong had settled in Ordos. The turbulent Jinong made raids in Ninghsia, Liang and Kanchow. T'u-ssu Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40), Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49), Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 54), were ordered to help stem the forays. T'u-ssu Hsin died on the field of battle. The Jinong invaded Hsining and hit a severe blow. T'u-ssu Lu and Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52) helped the commander beat the Jinong.

The next year the Kokonor brigands made a raid in Hsining and were severely beaten, twice, at the temple T'ieh-fu, 50 li north of the city.

General Liu T'ien-ho, having studied the situation of the country, ordered first the repair of the walls and towers of the eighteen existing small fortresses and villages and cities, and to start immediately with the building of seventeen new fortified villages. He promoted agriculture around the fortresses, dug irrigation

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

canals, helped the people with grain and oxen, etc. He built the two large cities of Pa-yien-jung and San-ch'uan, south of Nienpei, and established there two strong garrisons, in order to control the whole region north of the Yellow River, reaching from the south of Hsining to Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu 24: 18; 23: 16). At that time the only fortified villages were near the mansions of the t'u-ssu, where in time of troubles the people found shelter with their cattle and helped to defend the fortress, and from which they attacked and pursued brigands. Only near these fortresses were living and farming possible. No wonder that the helpless scattered tribes incessantly revolted, plundered on their own account, or joined the invaders after having been plundered.

In 1537 groups of Ordos brigands raided the fortress of Cheng-ch'iang-I, situated between Liangchow and Lanchow. T'u-ssu Yeh defended the fortress heroically and died in the battle. The people esteemed his brave conduct and erected a stele in commemoration inside the village.

In 1541 the Jinong from Ordos raided Hsia-ch'uan-ku in Huangchung; a crushing defeat was administered to him by General Liu T'ien-ho in Ho-shuei-wan. His son Chin-shao was killed in the battle. T'u-ssu Lu, Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40), Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45) participated in the action. Groups belonging to the Tsa tsa tribes of Huangchung plundered San-ch'uan and were chased by T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45), and Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38).

In 1543 the turbulent Jinong, leading a strong army, arrived at Kokonor, where he defeated I-pu-la, and captured half of his followers. I-pu-la fled to Mongolia plundering the Liangchow country on his way back. The Jinong was the grandson of Dayan and had a score to settle with I-pu-la, who, seceding with his tribes, had offended his grandfather Dayan. I-pu-la had raided and plundered Huangchung, had scattered or subdued and ruined the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor during thirty-four years (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 15*b*; 20: 12*a*). Pu-erh-hai, a Mongol chieftain who had joined I-pu-la in 1525, had already abandoned I-pu-la, and had hidden in the mountains to avoid the Jinong. Previously he had manifested his intention to submit to China and was better disposed toward the Tibetans. Many tribes returned to Kokonor hoping to enjoy a precarious peace for some years (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 12*b*). The same year T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to lead his troops to Tatung in Shansi province to help chase the invading Mongols.

In 1546 the emperor ordered the officials to erect an Honorific Arch glorifying the merits of T'u-ssu Lu.

Until 1549 the students in Hsining had been unable to pass the literary examination and acquire titles. This year, on account of the new regulations, diplomas were granted in Hsining.

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

of them remained united and strong because of the benefits derived from brigandage and loot.

Altan, who controlled all the Mongols, was in 1559 making forays and harrassing China. For a long time he had been conversant with the fertile Kokonor country, the El Dorado of peoples engaged in cattle breeding, and also with the weakness of the Chinese forces which defended the country, and the helplessness of the disunited Tibetan tribes. Being eager to occupy Kokonor he sent to the country his two sons Pin-tu and Ping-tu with several thousands of Mongols. In 1561 Pin-tu occupied and looted the country of Sung-shan-i, situated between Chuang Lang and Ordos. Ping-tu went to Kokonor, plundering and looting East Kansu (*Annals* of Hsining **20**: 12). He defeated the Chinese army sent against him. The Li T'u-ssu died in the battle (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*a*). In 1568, however, he was severely beaten around Kuei Te and lost many of his people (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*a*). In the meantime the Tibetan Tsan-tsa and Ko-tsa tribes had invaded the Ma-ha-la valley in Hsining but were chased away. Mongol groups of Pin-tu made raids from Sung Shan, in the Pa-yen-jung region (Hsining) and were beaten (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 17). Again the military authority ordered walls and small fortresses built on the mountain passes and on the routes used by the brigands to invade the country (*Annals* of Hsining **13**: 9, 10).

In Hsining the bureau for the administration of the military colonies was erected in 1567 (*Annals* of Hsining **23**: 5).

In 1568 the emperor ordered the officials of Hsining to build an honorific arch in the city of Hsining for the meritorious T'u-ssu Li Kung, grandson of Li Yin, who in 1481 had passed the literary examination of *chin shih* and fulfilled the office of minister in the Chang-pao-sse. The arch was built on the great street of the eastern gate of the city, and still exists. The emperor granted the honorific inscription chiseled in the arch: Ch'ing Yun (clearing clouds)—meaning bright sky, and thus bright intelligence.

In 1569 the Tibetan Ssu-erh-ko and Hung-mao tribes raided Hsining and were administered a blow. Two chiefs of Ssu-erh-ko were taken prisoner, but a Chinese commander was killed by the Hung-mao tribe (*Annals* of Hsining **31**: 17). The commander succeeded in inducing the Ssu-erh-ko tribes to surrender and titles were bestowed upon the chieftains of their twelve tribes. They aided in inducing the Hung-mao tribes to surrender and both groups agreed to combat the Kokonor and Sung Shan brigands in combination with the Chinese armies (*Annals* of Hsining **25**: 19*b*). The Mongol brigand Ping-tu raided the Ta-erh-wan valley in Huangchung from Kokonor and was repelled by the army which lost its commander (*Annals* of Kansu **46**: 35*b*).

Altan surrendered in 1570 and concluded peace with

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

China; markets were accorded to his tribes and he was created "the Obedient and Righteous Prince"! However, the perspicacious Governor Wang Ch'ung-ku asked for a declaration of submission from other chieftains, such as Chinang and T'uman. T'uman refused boldly.[62] Apparently groups of Mongols, dissatisfied with the peace concluded by Altan, had already decided to gather under the banner of T'uman, liking better their adventurous life of looting and plundering than the submission to China. The group was strong and numerous, and administered, during the following years, many crushing defeats to China. Altan, however, endeavored to make his people desist from raids,[63] but he did not succeed in controlling his sons, nephews, and other relatives in Kansu and Huangchung. Since in 1559 Altan had sent his sons to occupy Kokonor and Sung-shan many Mongol chieftains, mostly nephews and cousins had followed them. They had forced the Tibetans to recognize their lordship, bring tribute and help them in the raids made in Kansu. They wrought tremendous havoc among the Tibetan tribes. The Chinese troops fought many losing battles and lost many officers and soldiers. Pin-tu and Ping-tu groups were the scourge of Kansu province. Altan was succeeded by his son Huang-t'ai-chi in 1583, and by his grandson Ch'ih-li-ko in 1587, who was unable to control his people. The emperor, in 1591, ordered the suspension of trade with his tribes (Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 141). From the death of Altan on, Huangchung suffered tremendously for years, on account of the savage raids of the relatives of Altan, whose real nature immediately asserted itself in all its crudity and brutality.

In 1572 the Tibetan Erh-chia-ting tribes again plundered Hsining country. Their chief was captured and killed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17).

In 1573 General Ta Yun rebuilt and fortified the city of Nienpei exposed to the recurrent raids from the Tibetan tribes living north of the cities of Hsining and Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17).

The fortifications of the city of Hsining were again overhauled and improved in 1575, and the city was enlarged in the prospect of troubles on account of the building of the temple in Kokonor, the opening of markets and the incessant arrival of more Mongols (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*).

Altan arrived at Kokonor in 1577 to meet the great lama (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 17*b*). The *Annals* of Hsining record (20: 14) that a lama of Wu-sse-tsang (on the borders of Szechwan Province) was proclaimed Living Buddha. The shrewd Ping-tu, knowing the religiosity of the Tibetans, proposed to build two temples, one in Kokonor and one in Chia-yu-kuan and to invite the Living Buddha. He intended to secure the support of the Tibetans by pretending to be fond of Buddhism. The question was vividly discussed in

[62] Pokotilov, 129.
[63] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 137-141.

[P.47(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

gols in Kokonor and burn the temple built by Altan. They returned in a flush of triumph with 1,200 captured families. The number of brigands they killed is not known. The Brigadier General Chiao Chi defeated tribes of Ho-lo-ch'ih with the help of Tibetans and beheaded 120 of his men (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 36*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 18*b*).

The energic Cheng Lo must have commanded at the time of his arrival in Huangchung a fair number of fresh troops. Otherwise the shaken confidence in the empire among the Tibetan tribes would not have been restored so quickly. In two years time the outlook had changed and become bright and full of hope for the people, beset for ten years with starvation, squalor and misery, and anxious uncertainty.

The same year the markets, opened for the Mongols in Kansu, were closed on account of their incessant raids and brigandage. The Obedient and Righteous Prince Ch'ih-li-k'o who had assisted at the looting of T'ao and Ming Chou, sent back the abducted people and stolen cattle and presented excuses to the emperor (*Annals* of Hsining 25: 20*a*–*b*).

In 1594 orders were given to repair and improve again the fortifications of the city of Hsining. More villages and military colonies were built. Maybe the officials had seen some new straws in the wind (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*a*). A strong group of Kokonor brigands arrived to plunder the valleys south of Hsining. The Chinese generals Liu Mei-Kuan, Ta Yun, T'ien Yueh had called all the t'u-ssu of Huangchung and captured groups of Tibetans to defend the country. They used flanking movements, skillfully settled ambuscades, and administered a crushing defeat to the raiders, 680 of whom were beheaded. A few months later the brigands came back with all the brigands of Nalu, to loot the valleys west of Hsining. The same generals, t'u-ssu, and Tibetans obtained a resounding victory and killed 700 and more brigands, among them some chieftains (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 37*b*; *Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*a*).

These two victories were the most important ever won in Huangchung. In the report relating the military presentation are encountered the names of the most meritorious military and civil officials who had contributed to the success. We encounter among them the names of T'u-ssu Lu Kuang-tsu, Li Yu-mao, Li Hsien-hua, Ch'eng San-chi, Ch'i Ping-chung and Ch'i Te (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 23*a*–*b*). A delegate of the ministry of war was sent with titles and gifts to reward the meritorious officials.

Immediately after the victories, in 1596, orders were sent to the military officials to build more walls especially along the roads used by the invaders of Kokonor and Sung Shan, to build fortresses at strategic points and more villages in the valleys for the farmers. The officials expected that the brigands would not take these blows lying down but would avenge themselves by means of new raids. In Cheng-hai-pu in the western

[P.49(A)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

valley of Hsining, 60 li distant from the city on the way to Kokonor, a strong fortified city was built and a strong garrison appointed. The place controlled the western valley and the raids from Kokonor. In Chung-tsai in the Sa-t'ang valley, which so many times had been looted by invading Tibetans, a strong fortress was also built and a garrison appointed. The same dispositions were taken to improve the strength of the cities of Pa-yen-jung and San Ch'uan against brigands of Sung Shan and Ordos. For the first time troops were available to occupy permanently the strategic points in the country and from the t'u-ssu were required good soldiers to share with the Chinese troops the burden of the defense of the strongholds (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 29*b*, 30*a*). General Liu Mei-kuan started with the exploitation of iron ore in the mountains north of Hsining, three foundries were built and blacksmiths started preparing weapons to be distributed among the subdued tribes. To the nineteen tribes of Komi numbering 7,000 people, reputed first-rate warriors, were sent military instructors with weapons, to drill them. The director of colonization reported that 80,000 acres of uncultivated land were still available to farmers. To destitute Tibetans of Kokonor and East Kansu, pouring into the country every day, were given land to till and grain and oxen. Orders were sent to promote education, build schools in each village and improve existing ones (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*b*; 25: 23*b*; 35: 24).

In a report sent by General T'ien Yueh is encountered an interesting note relating to the education given to the people of north Kansu and Huangchung in these desperate times. In each of the schools of the city of Kanchow, sixty or seventy students attend the lessons of three teachers. In each of the schools of the cities of Kao T'ai, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, Liangchow, Cheng Fan and Chuang Lang are encountered only thirty or forty students, in the smallest of these cities only twenty or thirty students. In each of the schools are two teachers. Then follows an exhortation to promote education (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 20*a*).

In the same year, 1596, after the brilliant victories, the country seeming radiant and everywhere walls and fortresses being built, the lamas of T'a-erh-sse (Kumbum) (situated 40 li south of Hsining) decided to build a wall around the hermitages existing at that time. In 1560 some cells had been built for ten monks and, in 1577, a small temple next to a tower whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree, the glory of Kumbum (Monguors II: 25 sq.).

The same year the brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih, feeling insecure in Kokonor, intending to leave the country and to return to Ordos, asked to pass through Huangchung. The request was refused. He passed the Yellow River, looted T'ao and Ho Chou and was pursued in his flight to the Ordos (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*).

The La-pu-erh tribe boldly repelled alone an attack of Kokonor brigands, killing fifteen brigands and cap-

[P.49(B)]

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

turing thirty horses (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*). The Wa-la tribes, afraid of the Chinese army, moved to a salt lake deeper into Kokonor. 175x 721 648

In 1597, however, Kokonor brigands still raided surrendered Tibetan tribes in the Hsining region. They were vigorously repelled from the Mang-la valley (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 52). Chih-li-ko, Ordos brigand, raided the borders of Huangchung; 60 of his brigands were killed and 3,300 surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*a*).

The same year Liu Mei-kuan and Lung-yin finished the editing of a set of new *Annals*. However, a note is added, no woodblocks had been carved, only a few texts existed (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*; 27: 14, 15), and most of them were indecipherable. 175x 213

In 1598 the Ordos Mongol Ch'ih-li-ko intended to reoccupy and to pasture in Sung Shan. He was repelled and suffered a defeat in Liu Ko Chin. In the fifth moon he plundered the Wolanko region and was repelled again. In the fifth moon one of his tribes, the Shao-hai-hai tribe, surrendered (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*a*). In the seventh moon Generals T'ien Yueh and Ta Yun definitely cleared the Sung Shan region of brigands. The chieftains Pin-tu, A-shih-tu, Tsai-cheng, Chih-li-ko had long infested the Huangchung and East Kansu countries. This time the brigands were chased as far as 500 li (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*b*). In the eleventh month the Mongol Hao-erh-ch'i occupied Sung Shan. The Chinese Commander Li Wen and surrendered Tibetan tribes repelled them and administered a severe blow. They built a wall as long as 400 li, indicating that Sung Shan belonged to China proper and was no longer the country of the barbarians (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 3*b*). 175x 648 [712]

In 1600 Sung Shan, the country from which during many years many raids had been perpetrated, was cleared of brigands and integrated into China. No more raids are recorded of Kokonor and Sung Shan brigands in Huangchung. For some time the Ordos brigands tried to recover Sung Shan and make forays in East Kansu, T'ao and Ming Chou, Liangchow, Chengfan, Ninghsia, but Huangchung enjoyed relative and temporary peace.

Kokonor brigands having lost many tribes previously subject to them, raided T'ao and Ming Chou to subdue Tibetan tribes not yet surrendered to China. They suffered a severe blow and 5,000 Tibetans surrendered to China (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 38*b*).

The year 1604 is important in the history of lamaism in Huangchung. On the northwest of the so many times devastated Sa-t'ang valley, on the borders of one of the small affluents of the Sa-t'ang River, a Tibetan lama Diasai, belonging to the Saskya sect, started the building of the humble hermitage of Erh-ku-lung. The hermitage developed to the point that it became the first lamasery of Huangchung for many centuries and founded all over the country forty daughter monasteries. Its Living Buddhas, Chang Chia, T'u Kuan 175x 792 795